

**ea-j**

ISSN 2056-7553 (Print)  
ISSN 2056-7561 (Online)

# International Journal of Asian History, Cultures and Traditions

Vol 3, No. 2, August 2016



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**ISSN 2056-7553 (Print)**

**ISSN 2056-7561 (Online)**

## **HOLISTIC PARTICIPATIVE BASED MODEL ON ETHNIC MIX RELATIONS FOR CONFLICT RESOLUTION: CASE STUDY ON TIONGHOA (CHINESE INDONESIAN) AND JAVANESE RELATIONS IN MALANG CITY, INDONESIA**

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**ABSTRACT:** *This article describes about the ethnic relations between Tionghoa (Chinese Indonesian) and Javanese relations. Both ethnics are living together and creates special pattern in some cities, include in Malang City, East Java, Indonesia. The ethnic relations among Tionghoa and Javanese in Malang city seem more peaceful and create togetherness. However, the ethnic sentiment toward Tionghoa is remain exist. The Tionghoa-Javanese relations in Malang City show that two ethnics are develop togetherness through social construction by integrating some elements like religious, respect and peace. Both ethnics are participating in some activities based on those elements and affect their daily life. Then, those elements are used to avoid the conflict and develop participative holistic model on the ethnic-mix relations and support city development. It is a qualitative research where data collected by interview toward selected informant and observations to some event which involve two ethnics. The result shows peaceful relations in Tionghoa-Javanese relations in Malang city are constructed from tolerance that is developed from religious and social meaning, which shape togetherness.*

**KEYWORDS:** Tionghoa, Javanese, Ethnic Relations, Holistic Participation, Togetherness.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Background**

Indonesia is a multi-culture country. This situation creates both positive and negative impact. As a multi-culture country, Indonesia has many ethnics, traditions, culture and local wisdom which are giving social and cultural capital for Indonesian nations. Indonesia is a huge living laboratory for some studies like Sociology, Anthropology, Politics, conflict and culture. However, the racipnalism (or chauvinism), is another impact which potentially creates ethnic conflict (Astari, 2011: 229). Ethnic conflict in Sambas (Kalimantan), Ambon (Mollucas), Aceh (Sumatera) and Papua are becoming indicator for conflict potential in heterogeneous ethnic of Indonesia. This heterogeneous becomes a problem where conflict of interest among various ethnic are growing, even state's interest also included (Suparlan in Salim, 2006: 1).

The consequence of multi-culture country is the ethnic relations which sometimes create conflict. Indonesian government recognizes this conflict potential in the term of SARA or *suku, agama, ras* and *antar golongan* (ethnic, religion, race and group). Unequal development, access toward natural and economic resources and law enforcement also contribute on ethnic conflict which shifted to structural problem. Some studies show that ethnic conflict in Indonesia creates violence where the differencies among them are supporting with ethnic domination (Kleden, 2001; Salim, 2006; Sutrisno, 2003). The dominance relation is containing of structural violence because of unequal relations but domination among other. This domination potentially

creates social conflict. Minnery argues that Ethnic conflict is created by unequal relations between two or more ethnics where they are interdependence each other but different in interest and one dominant ethnic tries to ignore other (Astari, 2011). The ethnic-mix relations are needed to avoid conflict and creates equal relations among ethnics and keep nations unity. Ethnic-mix is the effort to eliminate exclusive nature among group and ethnic or in the larger context, it is a uniting and integrating process.

Social and culturally, Indonesia is a concept of multiethnic. Every ethnic develops autonomous communalism. They have their own character and attitude which are growing naturally in the specific form. They are interacting each other, with strong mobilization because of economic need in trade among islands. They create hetero cultural society system (Salim, 2006).

Tionghoa or Chinese Indonesian is one of ethnic minority in Indonesia. In 1961, there are about 2,45 million Tionghoas are living in Indonesia. It was about 2,5% of total Indonesian population. Tionghoa distribution in Indonesia island is various, where in Java and Madura island, most of them are living in urban area (78,4%), and other (21,6%) living in rural area. Tionghoa are the largest foreign descent ethnic in Indonesia. Tionghoa contribute particularly in Indonesian economic where their main activity is based. However, there were many conflicts relate Tionghoa in Indonesia. In 1998, there were anti-Tionghoa riots in some cities like Jakarta, Solo and Medan. The root of this conflict actually is unclear but as escalation of ethnic stratification in Indonesian society for long time under New Order regime repression and becomes latent (Salim, 2006).

Malang city is the second largest city in East Java province of Indonesia. In 1998, this city relatively didn't affect the anti-Chinese riots in Java and people live in harmony. Tionghoa are minority among Malang resident where mostly Javanese. As in other area, Tionghoa are living in specific area called *pecinan* or China town and usually in the center of the city. This area is the center of economic and trade activities. Although living in harmonious relations, but the ethnic sentiment toward Tionghoa was still remain and create conflict although in small scale. This conflict was caused by unequal economic condition between Tionghoa and Javanese, where minority Tionghoa dominated economy while majority Javanese became minority in economy. There are some problems related with Tionghoa in Malang city (Astutik, 2000). They are race differentiation and social-culture separation, social status, nationalism, envy attitude, anti-Tionghoa sentiment, unfair competition among Javanese and Tionghoa businessperson, xenophobia, and Tionghoa's exclusivity. Those problems are created by some factors like trust, culture, racial stereotyping, economic domination and government's policy. In the wider context, Astutik argues that in the post reform Indonesia, ethnic-mix relations of Tionghoa are done by participating in politics, where it difficult to do in New Order regime (Astutik, 2010). President Abdurrahman Wahid, is the actor behind this condition where he stop the policy to banning Chinese culture expression and place Tionghoa as one of Indonesian ethnic with equal right with other Indonesian ethnic. Politically, Tionghoa become not only as voter but also candidate in political elections. That is why, today, there are some Tionghoa politicians, legislative member and also as executive in government.

However, in the last decade, the conflict has decreasing and almost never happen again. Tionghoa and Javanese are living together in peaceful relations. This peaceful social relations are spillover to economy, culture and even in political relations. In 2014, Anton, a Tionghoa, was elected to be Malang city mayor. This article describes about influencing factors on those peaceful relations among Tionghoa and Javanese in Malang city.

### **Multiculturalism in Indonesian context**

*Bhineka Tunggal Ika* is Indonesian unity symbol, means unity in diversity. It describes the unity of various ethnic to be Indonesian nation. However, Suparlan argues that this concept shifted from New Order definition as heterogeneous ethnic and culture to be Indonesian multicultural society, which it means heterogeneous culture society in plural society (Salim, 2006). This shift definition refers to multiculturalism concept. Some ethnic conflicts create the multiculturalism discourse growing and become relevant issues to Indonesian society. One of character of multicultural society is the recognition of difference in equal society both individually and culturally (Salim, 2006). Multicultural society grows from the consciousness that human lives in the plural society and culture. this heterogeneous is given and become potential to understand each other rather than create conflict. In multicultural approach, there is an assumption that every culture and society has their own way of life which should to be understood in the context of those culture and society. Multicultural society is a concept refer to social relations perspective from various autonomous culture. To avoid cultural ethnocentric bias and ethnic superiority, it need good conflict management which based on some concepts like passivism, egalitarianism, communalism, secularism and rationalism (Salim, 2006).

Another related concept is pluralism. Pluralism is more psychological concern on cross cultural relations. This approach views that multicultural society is plural society (population in general comes from acculturated groups) and government respect to this pluralism and keep it sustain (Berry, 1999). However, in the multicultural society, they reject government involvement to homogenizing the population through assimilation, separation and segregation. The development of pluralism and multiculturalism spirit are taking long time. Although many Indonesian know about assimilation in those concepts but it still need to be improved (Haryono, 2006). Milton Gordon argues that there are seven frameworks on assimilation studies. They are cultural, structural, marriage, identity, attitude, behavior and civic assimilation.

Multicultural society is a society who accept integration in general way to face cultural difference. Social integration becomes important and urgent in plural society as Indonesia and Tionghoa-Javanese relations is one of best practice for this approach.

### **Holistic Participation on Ethnic-mix relations of Tionghoa and Javanese**

Ethnic-mix is the effort to reduce exclusivity among groups, or in the wider context it is a uniting or integrating process of groups of Indonesian citizen. Through this process, Indonesian citizen with foreign descent like Tionghoa become one united, interact and interdependence. The ethnic-mix problem of foreign descent in Indonesia is not easy problem. It takes time, slow and artificial. There is latent conflict under peaceful condition. The potential conflicts of social inequality and economic domination are still remaining. This problem becomes more complex during complexity of people life and not only faces with cultural background but also economic, social, politics, culture, education and security issues.

Charles Coppel (1984) explains that there are four approach in ethnic-mix process of Tionghoa in Indonesia. First is what was done by BAPERKI (*Badan Permusyawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia*/ Indonesian Citizenship Consultation Body). Siauw Giok Tjhan argued that ethnic-mix could be reached through Indonesian socialist society. Second, another BAPERKI leader, Yap Thiam Hien argued that ethnic-mix could be reached by eliminating prejudice and human right protection. Third, Shindunata, a leader of LPKB (*Lembaga Pembinaan Kesatuan Bangsa*) argued that the ethnic-mix should be reached through

assimilation or marriage and the last approach is by Junus Yahya, a Tionghoa Moslem leader suggested the ethnic-mix process through joining majority religion, Islam.

There were two important approaches in Tionghoa ethnic-mix process, assimilation and integration. The assimilation supporters want the ethnic-mix in the society through eliminating origin identity and culture and melt in the united society. They think that on this way, the racial problem would be finished soon and Tionghoa should melt into Indonesian society by leaving their Chinese culture and identity. While integration supporters argue that ethnic-mix in the society could be reached without ignoring or eliminating origin identity and culture. They argue that Indonesia is not homogeny country and Tionghoa already living for hundreds years, and they should be recognized as one ethnic in Indonesia. So, Tionghoa do not need to eliminating their original identity and culture. In the post reform Indonesia, the debate of integration versus assimilation is reviving. The debates often create conflict inside Tionghoa community. Ethnic-mix between Tionghoa and Javanese based on holistic participation is an ethnic-mix model which oriented to the full involvement of all elements in the society without see differences in age, sex, ethnic, and in all of living field, and done together.

Ethnic-mix relations in Malang city is focusing on the ethnic relations between Javanese and Tionghoas. It aims to anticipate conflict among them and become role model in the national level. Some assumption in this study are first, society with different ideology, social, economy and culture, for sure have different attitude and behavior in their daily life and it brings conflict potential. Second, to improve nationalism in individuals as Indonesian citizen, it is needed for togetherness in nation and state living through mixing process based on holistic participation. Third, the ethnic-mix relations model between Javanese and Tionghoas orients to uniting identity in their daily life as Indonesian citizen.

## METHODOLOGY

It is a qualitative research which constructs model from in-depth, specific and informed data collection process. To describe ethnic-mix relations model, it need the focus to explore because in qualitative research model is related with phenomenology, where study tries to explore the meaning over the event. So, we consider to use this qualitative research model to answer the research questions.

It begun with field observation by observes how the ethnic-mix relations does construct based on holistic participation. It contains some aspects like participation from all elements of Javanese and Tionghoas, holistic aspect, access and responsibility and fairness. The result of those aspects are used as material to construct and develop ethnic-mix relations model of Javanese and Tionghoas based on holistic participation.

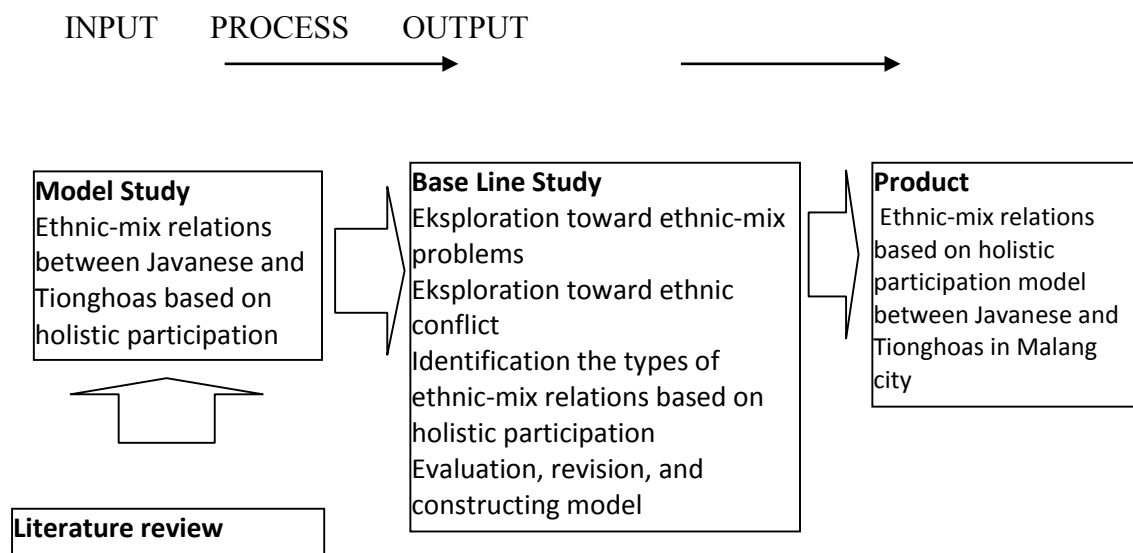
Study was conducted in Malang city, because Malang society is various, multi-culture and open. Some ethnics are living in Malang like Javanese, Arabian, Sundanese, Maduranese and Tionghoas. In particular, Tionghoas living in specific area called "*pecinan*" or Chinese town. This area identically with center of trade and economy, by high mobility, economic transactions and dominated by Tionghoas trader. In many living aspect, Tionghoas and Javanese are living in harmony life and relations. There is no meaningful conflict among them that causes riot like in other cities, Jakarta, Solo and Medan. According to those phenomenas, this study located in



Malang where the phenomena of ethnic-mix relations already constructed but it is not explored yet in academic research.

To gets valid, reliable and objective data, the subject of this study are get by purposive. Informants in this study were selected through some criteria like leader in culture, religion, education, society and expert in Javanese-Tionghoas relations. There are 8 informants in this study, 4 Javanese and 4 Tionghoas. While data were collected by observation, indepth interview by face to face interview. Then, data analyzed by interaction where researcher analyzing data since very beginning of data collection. Interaction model is described in some steps, first data reduction is selection, focus, simplify and abstraction in field note. Second, data display as information organization to get conclusion and conclusion drawing where the result does displayed in full conclusion (Miles and Huberman in Sugiyono, 2006).

In general, the research framework is displayd in following figure.



**Figure 1 : Input-Output system of Ethnic-mix relations based on Holistic Participation model to anticipate ethnic conflict between Javanese and Tionghoa in Malang city.**

### **Ethnic-mix relations based on Holistic Participation between Javanese and Tionghoas in Malang**

Assimilation between Javanese and Tionghoas already happening since the first Tionghoa came to Malang. However, it was individual than in collective organization process. Theory mentions that supporting factor for assimilation is the existence of toleration among different culture groups and respect others. Malang has some cultures, ethnics and religions. It was difficult for assimilation until 1998 when there is stereotype between Tionghoas and indigeneous people. In the post 1998 reform, there are some change in social-political live of Tionghoas in Indonesia. All of government in this period released policies which direct and indirectly give space for Tionghoas social-political space (Suryadinata, 2007; Sukma, 2009; Tan, 2011; Jiaxuan, 2011; Liji, 2012; Mahfud, 2013). President BJ Habiebie released policy to stop using indigeneous and non-indigenous concept in nation live. While President Abdurrahman Wahid, released president decree number 6 year 2000 to replace president

instruction number 14 year 1967 which banning Chinese culture expression among Tionghoas. It gave recognition toward Tionghoa culture as part of Indonesian culture and also Confucianism as official religion in Indonesia. President Megawati Soekarno Putri released policy to include Chinese New Year as national holiday and ask Tionghoa as her minister. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also put a Tionghoa as his minister and in 2006, SBY administration released Citizenship Law and Law number 40 year 2008 about the removing discrimination in race and ethnic in Indonesia. Both of this law products, give recognition to Tionghoas as an ethnic in Indonesian nation. In 2014, president SBY released president decree number 14 year 2014 about the change of using the term of “Cina” become “Tionghoa”. According to those political situations, Tionghoas became feel recognized as part of Indonesia. They try to express their Tionghoa identity in many ways, include in organization (Gilbin, 2003; Hoon, 2013).

In general, the ethnic-mix model based on holistic participation between Javanese and Tionghoa as assimilation process is constructed in 7 shape (Milton Gorgon in Haryono, 2006). They are culture, structure, identification, marriage, attitude, behaviour and civic.

## Culture

Culture has important meaning in society and ethnic group, because it characterizes in specific and as identity. Culture is the result of human civilization and as spirit in society. Culture could change in some circumstances. Ethnic-mix model between Javanese and Tionghoa in culture can be showed in the cultural activities between them. Chinese temple in Malang, En An Kiong, has a set of Javanese traditional music instrument and held the “wayang kulit” or Javanese shadow puppet performance. Those activities aim to save Javanese culture. Chinese temple has roles to support local and Tionghoas culture like Barongsai dance. In the Barongsai dance, the player are Javanese. Chinese temple also open course for youth to learn Javanese gamelan and traditional dance.

Mr. Rudi as committee in the Chinese temple argues that:

*In En An Kiong, we have several programs where in the implementation it is not only for Tionghoa but also non-Tionghoa people around the temple. Barongsai dance is played by Javanese people and in every Tuesday, there is gamelan course and in Thursday there is Javanese traditional course course. The teacher is Tionghoa and students mostly Javanese.*

While Andik, a youth living in temple area and Barongsai player argues “*Playing Barongsai need high concentration. Barongsai is played by a team at least 2 players. It is a team dance not individual. So we need a good teamwork here*”. According to Andik, in Barongsai dance there is communication and togetherness between Tionghoas and Javanese players. The involvement of Javanese in the temple’s program is not limited to save the culture, but also in economic activities like provide space for them to sell food in the temple area.

In the north part of the temple, there are Javanese shops and canteen which sell Javanese foods like *rujak cingur*, *kolak*, *es pisang ijo* and Chinese food like pork satay. This area is provided for visitors and tourist who come to visit the temple and also to improve economic living of people who live around the temple. Most of the traders are Javanese who living around temple for years and sometime in two or three generations.

In a special moment, the temple held *wayang kulit* or traditional Javanese puppet shadow performance which include all of people and open to public. In other hand, as Chinese temple,



it also held special event every year. Bunsu Anton, the public relations official of the temple said: *“Every year, the temple held King Hoo Ping (sacrifice for the earth) where this event aims to pray friends and all spirits which end their descent for the faith and bless. The implementation of this event is giving 11.500 basic food packages for the need or poor people around the temple. This event held generation to generation since their ancestor and as the descendant, it became obligatory for them to held as Confucianism, Tao and Mahayana Buddhism follower. However, today it is not limited in particular religion but for all of the people who need”*. When the event was held, many people stayed at the temple since 6 am. Sutikno, a Javanese who is living around temple said: *“I feel very happy when this event held yearly. It so helpful for my family”*. The basic food packages are funded by donators and Malang city officials. This event is the space to share for the needs. Cahyono, like Sutikno, said that the program is very helpful for him and he likes the process with smooth although he had to stay in line for queue but no crowd and the committee provide many things. This phenomena show that in daily life, there is no distinguishing in ethnic as Javanese or Tionghoas when they are connected each other. The similar event also held during *Ramadhan* or holy fasting month for Muslim. Rudi said that during this month, the temple share and provide a food for Muslims for breakfast in the evening. Although it is not as primary activity of the temple, but it held as the shape of respect other religion activity. There is good will from Tionghoa to assimilate as part of Malang city society.

The assimilation activities in the temple is natural and strengthening interaction and relations between Javanese and Tionghoas. This natural process gives positive impact for the minority Tionghoa where their assimilation is not done by force where construct protest and ignoring their existence (Haryono, 2006). The assimilation from the Tionghoa perspective shows that the assimilation should be done naturally without force because they focus on the value and mind. If it done by force, it likes forcing the mind and value out of the body and create hurt. However, sometime, in some Tionghoas groups, sometime difficult to understand Javanese culture. Rudi said:

*“We cant ignore that there are Tionghoas who don’t care with their surrounding people, include the culture where they live (Javanese culture). usually it comes from old generation. When the world is change, we should to think objectively and change our point of view. The past let it past. Remembering the past will brings hurt and the young generation doesn’t like it. they need our support and together we develop values for unity of Indonesia”*.

*“ The key for successful interaction and relations in the different ethnic is the language. If we want to know and known by other, we should to learn their language. Through language, we will feel confidence and communication will be good, interaction will be increase, friendship, share and open. They will bring trust among us to understanding each other and need each other too. For this occasion, the temple held Chinese course for people who want to learn. It is not limited to Tionghoa but also for Javanese and other ethnics.*

## Structure

Structure or position determines social interaction process. Paulus Hardjo (2006) argues that one of indicator of the good assimilation process is when it found people from minority works in majority activity, *vive verca*. When democracy in Indonesia brings opportunity for Tionghoas to involved in the public space, including politics, it bring new structure for them in the Indonesian society. However, their natural and culture in trade still strong influence their life. Rudi explains:

*“For Tionghoa, usually they ask their childs to take care their family business. Like me, now, my business held by my child. Child become independen and implement their knowledge in business. They have advance knowledge to face global business like me.*

Almost Tionghoas in Indonesia work in trade and some of them work in family business. The involvement of Tionghoas in politics actually is not strange because there was Tionghoas ministers during Old Order and Reform Order in Indonesia. In the contex of Malang city, the mayor is Tionghoa. Moh Anton will be Malang city mayor for 5 years since 2014 to 2019. His successful in politics shows that Tionghoa is part of Indonesian society and have similar right and obligation like others. Slamet the secretary of PITI or *Persatuan Islam Tionghoa Indonesia* (Chinese Indonesian Muslim Association) mentions that Mr Anton shows that Tionghoa have opportunity become leader in Indonesia as other ethnic. He comes from PKB or *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (Nation Awakening Party) which majority the member is Javanese. But it doesn't gave obstacles for Anton, as Tionghoa, to join the politics.

Tionghoas already assimilate in society structure, particularly in Malang. Structural assimilation should not be a problem. However, the reality shows that the problem in structural assimilation is that Javanese still need to be public official and many of them still in honorary or contract status. So when Tionghoas join this opportunity, it will create jealous from Javanese (Hardjo, 2006). They think Tionghoas more prefer in private sector.

However, another reality shows different story. Sony, a Tionghoa, become a community leader in their community (Usually it called RT or *Rukun Tetangga*. A community of about 10 houses family). Soni said that in the first time he felt underpressure because he already busy with his business, but when community need him and he elected in fair election, he done his job as community leader with good feeling. Yanto, the member of community said that the fair election elected Soni and it was not by design. He argued that to elect the leader, it is not based in ethnicity or anything but the capability and responsibility to the community is the most important. In the implementation, Soni would not working alone because the community support him. Soni is the example of the recognition toward Tionghoa as leader in community.

## Marriage

Marriage is the holy process and inter-ethnic marriage is not a problem (Paulus, 2006). Mix marriage family will create positive assimilation among different ethnics. However, mix marriage assimilation still face problem because of different value and culture from both side. Tionghoas feel that their family is higher. So when the man comes from Tionghoas it will not be a problem, but in other way, Tionghoa family worry if their daughter married with different ethnic. Some Tionghoas worries if their daughter marry with Javanese man, because they heard that in Islam, a man can be married with 4 wives. Another problem is about a myth that mix marriage between Javanese and Tionghoa will create “un working family”. It means that in the marriage usually Tionghoa women feel higher than her Javanese husband.

However, we found a mix marriage couple which already 21 years in marriage. They are Kariaji, a Javanese man who marriage with Syu Yen, a Tionghoa women. Syu Yen said:

*“we already made relations for long time before marriage. My husband family had no problem with me who Tionghoa. The problems came from my family although my husband already have good position in work and no worry about our economy. Finally, my family gave us permission*

*and now we already have 2 daughters and they already work and have a good family. Thanks God for our family living”.*

Soni, a community leader where Syu Yen lives, said that in today situation, we do not need to discuss about difference. Marriage is about heart of two peoples. If they agree to get marriage it should be continue. They will do it, not us. And it is no problem for the different ethnic. Syu Yen argues that in their mix family, it creates interesting way where she understands Javanese culture and her husband also learning Tionghoa culture. Karyaji, Syu Yen's husband said that if the marriage should be in the same ethnic, is it any guarantee that it will be forever? Because the most important is the love in the family, not ethnic.

The Syu Yen experience shows how the barrier between Javanese and Tionghoa related with value and culture, but they could successfully face it. however, her experience cant be used to generalize that mix marriage between Javanese and Tionghoa. Paulus (2006) mentions that in the middle-lower society, there are rare case of assimilation problem in marriage because of the interaction bridge differences. There is almost no consideration toward the background of the couple. But, in the higher society, there are many consideration and conditions like pride, social status, material ownership and others.

### **Identification**

Identification in assimilation process is not easy. The mix identity from each ethnic become one, as Indonesian, face many challenges and sacrifices, not only material but also pride and even life. In national level, identity assimilation already shown by Tionghoa as some popular Tionghoa like Yap Thiam Hien, Teguh Karya, Teguh Srimulat and Tan Tjen Bok. There are some Tionghoas atletes who brought Indonesia to international level like Susi Susanti, Rudy Hartono, Liem Swie King and Alan Budi Kusuma. In economy there are some Tionghoa business person like Liem Soei Liong, Ciputra, Mochtar Riyadi and others. Their activities in some fields as prove of identity assimilation as manifest of nationality feeling.

Nationality feeling is not only implement in heroic actions, but also in daily life, as accepting minority and majority vice versa as part of daily interaction. In Tionghoa culture, there is a guide to get more material and success in business more than their father or grandfather. However, this value sometimes placed them as asocial community where they more focus on work and ignoring socialization with others. Identity is related with specific characters like physic, personality, believe, religion, value, norm between Javanese and Tionghoa. In the ethnic-mix process, those character should not eliminate at all, but it need to be tolerated, attention and trust from each part to develops social interaction in daily lide without hesitate, fear and other negative feeling. People who had strong ethnic identification relatively had low ethnic tolerance and create prejudice toward other ethnic. In opposite, people who had low ethnic identification, had high tolerance and create positive perception toward other. In this context, Rudi said:

*“We should to realized that in the Javanese and Tionghoa society, they have strong culture identification as character of their ethnic. Without eliminate each identity in the Malang city, we are living in the togetherness and characterized Malang identity, as Arema. There is no boundaries between us when that identity appear. When we are in our Tionghoa community, the ethnic identification is strong, but when we are in the society or community forum, the identification is as Malang city society. However, we realize that it is difficult for older Tionghoa because they were born in China, so difficult to change their self identification. In*



*other hand, the New Order policy also contributes to strengthening ethnic identity in Tionghoa”.*

Rudi's statement shows that ethnic-mix process is not easy when it faces identity and culture. it is needed openness and consciousness about togetherness and common identity as priority. Those openness and consciousness will mix their identity as common identity in the daily interaction.

### **Attitude**

Prejudice is curiosness toward other ethnic. Usually it more negative. For example, Tionghoa are percept have high economy level and using anyway to get it. in other hand, Tionghoa percept Javanese as lazy and don't work so hard but need maximum result. Those prejudice grow because of the difference point of view in understanding material and work. Tionghoa relative functionalist, and focus to the result. While, Javanese view down to work which orient to physic and material directly, because they are influenced by aristocrate mentality.

Education has important role to regenerating and give responsibility to the next leader. Education improves human quality and leadership in the future. Malang is an education city. There are many universities in Malang, both private and public. There is Machung university in Malang which in the first time people think that it only for Tionghoa. But in the reality it open to all of ethnics. Related with education, Rudi had his opinion:

*“Now, we don't need to talk about assimilation because we are already assimilate through many activities, include our activity to improve human quality. We established Machung university where the founder are not only Tionghoa but also from many ethnics. It shows that Machung is not only for Tionghoa but it aims to contribute for developing human quality by provide education for all of people with international standart”.*

Fransiska, a Tionghoa student in Machung had her opinion. *“Machung university is not exclusive university and only for Tionghoa, but for averybody who want to study here. There is scholarship for good student, include Muslim students. There are many Muslim student got scholarship here”.* While Calista, a Javanese student also had similar opinion. *“I got scholarship from Machung university because I get good marks. Machung also provide praying facility for Muslim. It quite representative enough. We usually do sholat together because many Muslim students here”.*

Those statements show that there is ethnic-mix in attitude between Javanese and Tionghoa in Malang city. Through education, they develop togetherness to improve human quality in Indonesia. Agus Salim (2006) mentions that in the global education concept, it refers to the total school environment include teacher attitude, curriculum, strategy and material, include student should come from many ethnic and no limitation to particular ethnic. Assimilation is not only related with social, education or economic status, but the more important is consciousness and togetherness. However, education as process to develop this consciousness need special attention to develop harmonic interaction and eliminate prejudice. Individual attitude could not view as ethnic attitude, it more individual than describe general ethnic attitude. Ethnic attitude which narrow to negative relations should not eliminate and transparancy are need to improve.

## Behaviour

Prejudice and discrimination are two related concept. Usually there is prejudice with some interests inside and continue to discrimination. Rudi argues that Tionghoa is no need to over reacting when their Javanese counterpart call them “Cina” (Chinese). Tionghoa should to response it by wide heart and low profile, and give them explanation about the word’s meaning so when they understand they will not use that word with negative feeling. To be accepted by other ethnic, it need trust and through language the barrier would be gone. Malang already had its identity and Malangese language could be tool for ethnic-mix process.

Tionghoa usually are viewed as rich people and it used to discriminate them by ask them more additional money when they need help. This prejudice shows the relations toward discrimination and in Indonesia democracy today, it should not happen again. The change of behavior in the context of reduce prejudice which impact to discrimination action are important to improve.

## Civic

Civic ethnic-mix between Javanese and Tionghoa, generally faces clash of value which impact to motive and attitude. Tionghoa usually use their economical motive, while Javanese more social. This character differences caused by different background. This differences are stressing authority where in Tionghoa culture, speaking authority around family is in the parents. Where in Javanese, speaking authority in social live is on power center in hierarchy of society. To decreasing this culture clash and authority system, it need the involvement of Tionghoa in the structure of society as community leader, active in local activities.

Jaya explains that the leadership should be not based on the ethnicity but capacity (Paulus, 2006). Usually Javanese act as leader and Tionghoa as money manager. However, it should be tried to placed Tionghoa as leader and Javanese as money manager. The involvement in the local and community activities and join into the structure are the prove of civic activity where it support ethnic-mix process.

## Ethnic-mix model in Javanese-Tionghoa relations to anticipate conflict in Malang

According to those 7 framework of ethnic-mix process, the ethnic mix model on Javanese-Tionghoa in Malang city could be described bellows:

1. Chinese temple, En An Kiong, plays important roles. It is not only for Confucian follower and Chinese symbol but also as place, media and space for elements of society in Malang with different backgrounds.
2. Malang government support the relations among different elements of Malang city by established *Forum Komunikasi Antar Umat Beragama* (Inter-religious Communication Forum). This forum was declared by the representative and leader of various religions, local government and policy department.
3. The problem which often appear is related with relation of Javanese and Tionghoa, where they are Indonesian citizen. The concept of multicultural society should be used as approach to solve this problem. Multicultural society is a concept related with social relations perspective in various autonomous culture. To avoid cultural bias and ethnocentris, it is need for good conflict management strategy. In Multicultural society,

people will touch by live together concept which emphasis to equality and reject ethnocentris, cultural domination and top-down approach. This approach gives more data from social, economic, politics system to explain inter-relations, multicultural characteristic and common live success.

4. Chinese temple and FKUB are the model of ethnic-mix relations model which is acted by Javanese and Tionghoa in Malang to avoid conflict. In those institutions, all of elements from both ethnics are working together for the city and develop their identity as Malangese. This Malangese identity becomes uniting factor for them.

## CONCLUSION

The ethnic-mix relations model of Javanese and Tionghoa based on holistic participation to avoid conflict in Malang is done by holistic participation of all society elements who integrated with social values and emphasis on togetherness, and religious-tolerant which mean the creating religious and tolerant society where all of people conduct their religion into the way of thinking, attitude and actions. Whatever the shape of differencies in society, they used as supporting factor for local development.

There are some recommendations from this study. They are:

1. For the people, Javanese and Tionghoa. They should to keep develop their togetherness spirit in the differencies, through openness, respect, without ignoring their identity and support for common identity as Malangese. They also should to educate to their young generation about those values.
2. For the local government. The FKUB should be strengthen by socialization, as people should to know about this institution to develop peace and harmony in society. Local government should also invites more elements of society to involve and educate young generation about the importance of tolerance, respect the differencies, and spirit togetherness.

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